

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

Stalin prepares for the flood tide

THE only expert analysis of Soviet foreign policy to have been undertaken for many a long day has come from the researches of Mr. George Morgan, First Secretary of the American Embassy in Moscow, who has contributed a remarkable article to the current issue of Foreign Affairs over the title of "Historicus."

One must assume that the American State Department, which obviously sanctioned publication of the article by one of its officers, attaches a good deal of weight to it. Furthermore, it is of more than passing interest since it made its appearance just as President Truman was giving vent to one of his periodic "Good old Joe, jolly old Joe" speeches among his haberdashery friends.

On the assumption that only a few Peace News readers have had an opportunity of studying Mr. Morgan's article, which runs into about fourteen thousand words, I propose to devote the space allotted me to giving a precis of it, because, in the opinion of impartial commentators here (if such beings do, in fact, exist) it is an invaluable addition to current thought, as well as an admirable corrective to a great deal of sentimentality on this side of the "great divide." By way of explanation it must be added that Mr. Morgan has relied almost entirely upon Russian sources for his information and upon publications in the Russian language. He believes that he has discovered and examined for relevant material nearly everything from Stalin's pen published between 1929 and 1948. The sacredness, he says, in which the faithful hold every word of Stalin makes it doubly improbable that anything of his which was obsolete would be republished without proper correction.

Marxist interpretations

MR. MORGAN examines the theory which underlies Stalin's approach to the foreign policy of Russia so far as the "determinants of revolution" are concerned. These determinants include the strictly Marxist interpretation of "relativity," "progress" (that nature moves not in a circle, but in an upward direction, upon which depends the claim that revolution is not merely inevitable, but right), "contradiction" and "struggle" (upon which is founded the conclusion that a basic policy of compromise and reform is a mistake) and, of course, the "class struggle" (with which Marxists and non-Marxists are all too familiar).

Communists, Stalin observes, do not idealise force and violence; they would gladly dispense with them if the bourgeoisie would consent to turn things over peaceably to the proletariat, but, as he told H. G. Wells, "classes which have had their day do not leave the stage of history voluntarily."

Stalin's approach to world Communist strategy is characteristically military, and it is hardly by accident that his writings are strewn with military figures of speech—tactics and strategy; staff, cadres, vanguards, reserves and so on. The stages by which world revolution will be achieved are well defined. The first was from 1903 to February, 1917; the second, March to October, 1917. The third stage began after the October Revolution: "The goal is to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the overthrow of imperialism in all countries. Revolution spreads beyond the limits of one country; the epoch of world revolution has begun," Stalin writes in "Problems of Leninism."

Change in tactics only

THE fundamental, not merely incidental, intention to use the Soviet Union as the base for world revolution has thus been on the record in Stalin's most important doctrinal work, Mr. Morgan tells us, repeatedly re-published for mass circulation from 1924 to the present time. The sole contradictory passages to the above are those contained in a statement to Mr. Roy Howard in 1936, and to Reuter's representative in 1943,

COMMENTARY

by

MARK HANOVER

which are not republished in the work just mentioned. Stalin had told Howard, in reply to a question whether he had abandoned his plans for world revolution, that "We never had such plans and intentions." To Reuter's correspondent Stalin said that the dissolution of the Comintern put an end to the slander that the Communist Parties of the various countries acted in accordance with orders from outside. These two statements, Mr. Morgan concludes, were part of the current tactical line and do not reflect a fundamental change in doctrine. The most decisive evidence of this is the re-publication in the last year or so of Stalin's vow of fidelity to Lenin made in 1924: "We

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

LONDON'S THREE BIG PEACE MEETINGS

FOOD, SCIENCE, CHRISTIANITY

Keys to world peace

THE first of London's three big peace demonstrations, taking place within the space of four weeks, was that held at Hornsey Town Hall last Tuesday and addressed by Dr. Donald Soper, Mrs. Leah Manning, MP, and Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS.

The Central Hall, Westminster, is to be used for Peace Meetings on Jan. 21, as announced below, and on Feb. 10 when the recently formed "Women's Peace Movement" will make its first big public appearance. Asked to speak at the latter meeting is Ann Fry, the young mother and PPU member who made her name as a speaker at meetings organised by the Stoke Newington Peace Group. Other speakers will be Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, Rev. Elsie Chamberlain, Vera Brittain, Lady Pethick Lawrence, Lady Parmoor and Sybil Morrison. Mrs. Cecily Cook will be in the Chair.

"MOST wars in the past have been fought over food supplies—and so will the next unless we can organise a World Food Council. Where food supplies are concerned, we stand at a time of destiny." This warning was given by Mrs. Leah Manning, M.P., at the Hornsey Women's Peace Group meeting in Hornsey Town Hall.

A large audience gathered to hear speakers put a three-fold approach to peace—through food, science and Christianity. The Chair was taken by Mrs Barbara Duncan Harris, JP, President of the Women's International League.

Mrs. Leah Manning pointed out that the population of the world was rising by 22-25 millions each year, and the reservoirs of food were getting less. No civilised conscience could admit the possibility of war,

famine and disease as a means to reduce population; the only alternative was to reclaim the non-fertile areas of the earth, as put forward by Sir John Boyd Orr to the Food and Agriculture Organisation. This was being done by individual countries. To be effective, however, these measures must be undertaken on a world-scale. At present seventeen nations belonged to FAO; Mrs. Manning appealed for greater efforts to bring Russia into this organisation.

Speaking as an atomic scientist who had been imprisoned for her renunciation of war, Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale (one of the eight women Fellows of the Royal Society) described the uses of atomic energy for peace and war.

THE REAL DANGER

Fear of the atom-bomb, she declared, was widespread—but the thing we should fear most was that we might be tempted to use it on other peoples. Many non-pacifists felt that they should draw the line at this method of warfare: but how were they to do it? During war there was no choice; it was not morality that counted, but victory.

The responsibility rested upon everyone to protest against expenditure on re-armament and against conscription for press-button warfare. Military Security was not possible in the world today; the only security was through friendship. "To love one's neighbour as oneself"—concluded Dr. Lonsdale—"has become a condition of world survival."

Dr. Donald Soper, Superintendent of the West London Mission, and known to a wider audience in Hyde Park and at Tower Hill, made a fervent appeal for the Christian alternative to war. "Peace or War: we must decide" was the slogan of the meeting; but, he said, most people had already decided. The great need was to translate this intellectual conviction into practical action; and the most effectual bridge was the Christian Church.

CHRISTIANS AND WAR

The man-in-the-street ignored the Church because he saw its failure to answer his questions about war. Peace-making was not a vague ideal, but was intrinsically linked with the teaching of the Prince of Peace: the Christian must say "No" to war.

The Christian Church provided the only supra-national authority in the world, and was the only possible basis for world government. "There is no possible *modus vivendi*," said Dr. Soper, "between nations clinging to national sovereignty."

Mrs. Pugh Morgan, joint secretary of the Hornsey Women's Peace Petition Group, then appealed for signatures to their petition, "Food as a Basis of Peace," which is to be presented to Hornsey's MP, Capt. Gamman. Nearly five thousand people have already signed.

WAR?—WE SAY "NO"

Peace Demonstration

CENTRAL HALL
WESTMINSTER

FRIDAY, JANUARY 21

8 p.m.

Chairman: STUART MORRIS

Speakers

VERA BRITTAIN
ALEX COMFORT
LAURENCE HOUSMAN
MICHAEL TIPPETT
SYBIL THORNDIKE
MABEL RIDEALGH M.P.
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NEXT FRIDAY

WE trust that all our readers who live in or near London (and they alone must total three thousand) will make a point of attending the meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, next Friday.

It is good for pacifists themselves to get together from time to time—not just to bay their approval, Communist-wise, of conclusions they have already reached—but to renew that sense of a common cause which is all too easily dissipated in the isolation of day-to-day activities; and to listen critically to what our leaders have to say. We can all learn from men like Laurence Housman and Michael Tippett.

It is equally good for non-pacifists to hear the case for pacifism stated authoritatively; or merely to be reminded, if the meeting is a "success," that a pacifist movement does exist, which numbers among its members people as distinguished in different walks of life as Vera Brittain, Sybil Thorndike and Mabel Ridealgh.

For it is truly astonishing what misconceptions of pacifism prevail. Only this week, we received a letter from a lady in Oxford, who had apparently just come across Peace News.

"I am convinced (she writes) that neither Great Britain nor the USA desires war. I am inclined to think that Russia does not desire it at present; I am equally inclined to think that she is the only power willing to make aggressive war when the time seems opportune: I am convinced that any symptoms of pacifism which she detects in this or any other country will be a valuable weapon in her hands, and that all the prayers of the churches and all the arguments of advocates of peace at any price are objects of derision to her. By Russia, I of course refer to the junta of the Kremlin, as I believe or conjecture—that the Russian people are willing to let us alone if they are allowed to. Unfortunately, it seems obvious that they are not allowed to do, or abstain from, what they choose. I read four excellent newspapers which I think keep me well informed on these questions."

There is not a word of that passage which might not have been written by a pacifist, not a statement that has not appeared time and again in Peace News. Yet this lady (she confesses that she has only had leisure to examine her one copy rather hastily) clearly imagines that she is either reporting facts of which we are unaware, or presenting an argument we have never taken into consideration. She does not know what pacifism is.

Perhaps it is not only the "four excellent newspapers" that are to blame, hard though it is to make headway against a conspiracy of silence or misrepresentation. Too often our own public slogans recall the days before the war, when thousands of self-styled "pacifists" did actually believe in "peace at any price" (on the understanding, of course, that no price would have to be paid). Most of those people, however, forsook us long ago, and none of the speakers next Friday could be justly charged with such naivety.

It is time the British public was shown that the pacifist movement of today is not an affair of cranks or sentimentalists; that the idea of pacifism, at any rate, is one that has got to be taken seriously, by anyone who claims to be concerned for the present and future of mankind. If the meeting at the Central Hall gets the support it deserves, it will help to further that end.

All is grist....

THE National Peace Council will find it hard indeed to replace Gerald Bailey, who has resigned his Directorship after nearly twenty years of tireless service. His initiative and organising ability have been reflected in all the Council's enterprises, from the National Petition for a new Peace Conference, which secured well over a million signatures shortly after Munich, down to the preliminary steps towards the formation of an International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace. His tour of the United States in 1947, by helping to link together the American and British peace movements, greatly increased the documentary material available to the NPC for its informational work.

Gerald Bailey was not the first Quaker pacifist to hold the position: Carl Heath had been a Director before him. But his appointment in 1930, at the age of twenty-seven, followed an interval during which a succession of Labour MP's had found the work too much to combine with their parliamentary duties—and it has gone on increasing ever since. I understand that he is continuing, for the present, as Acting Chairman of the World Union of Peace Organisations: we wish him continued success.

SIR THOMAS BEECHAM, speaking at the annual conference of the Incorporated Society of Musicians, appears to have made a sweeping attack on the Trustees of the Covent Garden Opera Trust. Much of the exaggerated language will merely raise a smile, and the gentlemen concerned are, no doubt, well able to protect their professional reputation, if they feel that it is in any way affected. But what was particularly regrettable was his reference to the Musical Director. He is reported as saying:

"The appointment of an alien, and especially one bearing a German name... must be, I think, because the hapless set of ignoramuses and nitwits who conspired to bring this about—this disaster—were under the impression that the functions of a musical director in an opera house were of such exotic, intricate and profound a nature that only a person of the sublime intelligence of a Teuton could grasp and manipulate them."

This sort of thing is the very breath of international discord. I hope that Dr. Rankl will appreciate that the speaker, who, as an inter-

preter of Bach and Beethoven, ought to know better, was not giving expression to a sentiment widely held by musicians in this country.

LETTERS continue to reach Peace News office reproaching us, in about equal measure, for our Communist sympathies and our anti-Russian bias. Does that mean that we are steering a reasonable course? I don't know. But I do know that this word "bias" is used in the strangest way.

I should have thought that a person was "biased" if he twisted his facts to fit a preconceived theory. But some of our correspondents use it in exactly the opposite sense. According to them, a person is biased if, after weighing the evidence as carefully as he can, he does not reach the set conclusion that every dispute is "six to one and half-a-dozen to the other." They should be reminded of Karl Barth's saying, "Not all cats are grey."

THE other evening I was chatting with a twenty-two year old Polish girl, who, like so many others now in this country, was deported by the Russians in 1940. She and her family were sent beyond the Urals. There they were housed in an un-heated, derelict barracks, built originally by Ukrainian kulaks—a few of whom still survived—and employed on timber-felling.

In the party were Poles who had travelled extensively in Russia before the Revolution: even they were amazed at the dehumanisation of the officials, the intimidation of the poor. But no less amazed were certain unfortunate Communists, who had made Mecca-pilgrimages to Moscow and Kharkov in the 1930s, and actually been imprisoned in Poland for their cause. Within a couple of months, I was told, they had ceased to be Communists.

But others are less open-minded. Eventually, thanks to the Soviet-Polish Pact, my friend and her brother were released, found their way across Russia to Persia, and so, via the Mediterranean, to England. And here they encountered English Communists. One of these began extolling the virtues of the Soviet system. The brother, it seems, was sceptical. "But I have read fifty books on Marxism and Communism," cried the Party Member, "what do you know about it?" "I have been in Russia," "Ah yes," came the confident retort, "but have you read the fifty books?" And as she told me this, my friend's face—which still

the Times Warsaw Correspondent (25.4.48) was "confirmed unequivocally"—he admitted that 1,500,000 Jews were executed by gas in Auschwitz, i.e. in one alone of the many extermination camps.

The evidence of Hoess is corroborated by the story of a former German prisoner, Eugen Kogon, a Roman Catholic publicist of distinction, now Editor of the Frankfurter Hefte, who has written a book entitled, "Der SS Staat," on the basis of his seven years' stay in Buchenwald and of such reports and docu-

LETTERS

ments on other camps as he could obtain. His authority as a responsible observer and critical student is unchallenged, and those wishing to make themselves familiar with his important (as yet untranslated) book, might read with profit the very extensive review in the Times Literary Supplement (28. 8. 48). Kogon describes (pp. 131-2; 202-6) in considerable detail the procedure of systematic extermination by gas, both in the gas chambers (the so-called "shower-baths") and in the mobile gas vans. Depositions from 100 named witnesses have also been collected in a volume, containing many terrible photos, entitled "Camps de Concentration" and published by the Service d'Information des Crimes de Guerre, Paris.

There is far more evidence still—space does not permit the listing of even part of this. A considerable number of publications on the sub-

TOO OPTIMISTIC

AFTER the spurt which brought the Peace News Fund up to a grand—a really grand—total of close on £750 for 1948, it was perhaps only natural that there should be a falling-off in contributions. We are already half-way through January—and only one-sixteenth of the way towards our monthly target of £85. But I am still hoping that this month may set a precedent for those to follow, and justify us in going ahead with our preparations for an altogether more attractive paper in the Spring.

We have full permission to do so now: whether we can take advantage of that or not depends entirely on you. Don't let Peace News be left behind every other paper in the country!

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Jan. 1: £5 10s.

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bore traces of her experience—suddenly wreathed in laughter—and I could not help laughing too, though something less than wholeheartedly.

ANOTHER word which, like "bias," seems to want re-defining, is "sincere." It has become customary among people of our persuasion to speak of their opponents as "sincere"; but shouldn't we be careful not to rob the adjective of all meaning? There are plenty of perfectly sincere non-pacifists: Christians and others who have searched earnestly for the right course of action and scrupulously examined our arguments. But are we bound to give the benefit of the doubt to those authors of the "Church and the Atom," for example, who pleaded that in war-time we really cannot tell when "unconditional surrender" has been demanded or obliteration-bombing begun? Surely "sincerity" means something more than a disposition to kid yourself as well as other people?

GROUP-CAPTAIN X. was telling me about his experiences in Sweden. He had been giving lectures on the English language and the English way of life. "I discovered," he said, "that my predecessor had been running us down! Now I am no jingo, but I do think a chap who goes abroad should show off his country to the best advantage, so I determined from the outset to show how we really lived and spoke." "And how did you set about it?" I enquired. "Well, I put on records of Winston Churchill's speeches...."

The Miller

ject are kept at this specialised Library which is open to its members.

C. C. ARONSFELD,

Secretary.

The Wiener Library,
19 Manchester Square, London, W.1.

(The War Resisters' International has received a letter from Amelia Kurlandska, the only surviving Jewish member of the Polish Section of the WRI, expressing her inability to understand "the extent to which even the greatest crimes can be ignored by people living in countries which have not suffered as many in Europe have," and continuing as follows:—

"For instance I take Peace News of Dec. 3 and I find a reader's letter. This reader tells us that according to his friend's opinion, 'the actual number of Jews who perished from all causes in the camps is in the region of 300,000, and the number of persons of all nationalities in the region of one and a half million.' Then I open the book entitled Smoke over Birkenau, written by Mrs. Szwedowska Szwedowska who was imprisoned in Auschwitz three years (1942-1945) and I begin to read the preface:

"In crematoriums of Auschwitz and Birkenau were burned till Jan. 18, 1945, in all about five million people. Of these, over three millions were Jews who were gassed or died of epidemics, and the rest Aryans, namely Poles arrested by the Gestapo, or insurgents brought from Warsaw, Russians, Yugoslavs, Czechs, Englishmen, Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Belgians, Italians, Ukrainians, Estonians, German criminals, children of various nationalities brought to this camp, or born in it, and gypsies whom the Germans treated like Jews; taking to gas the whole camp containing gipsy families multiplying freely. I give these numbers approximately, emphasizing that they were taken in the period of the camp's liquidation from persons working in the political department of Auschwitz."

"I think Mrs. Szwedowska can be considered a reliable witness.... The Duke of Bedford... questions all gas-chambers. Tell him I can translate him a description of gas chambers from the same book if he finds no-one who had visited them."

—Editor.)

Pacifism in Occupied Norway

By
DIDERICH LUND

WORLD WAR II is past, and the bitter challenge which we in Norway faced in the occupation remains only in our memories. But it would be both dangerous and unrealistic to dismiss the possibility of another war, however much we would like to persuade ourselves that such a war is impossible. Pacifists who live in countries that may risk the threat of invasion (and which of us can say that he does not?) must consider how they will meet a foreign army of occupation.

We discovered early in the occupation of Norway that a great deal depended on how we had prepared ourselves before the outbreak of war. The calm and detached exchange of views becomes almost impossible after war breaks out, and in most countries only a small minority think of any alternative to military warfare when it comes to fighting for the values they wish to defend. It is, therefore, of the highest importance to pacifists to make the best use of the time, however short, which is now at our disposal, to increase this minority and spread this knowledge.

FIRST TASK

First and foremost, pacifists must educate themselves and others to a full recognition of the supreme value of fundamental democratic principles, being aware of the fact that the life of the individual can be most fully and deeply developed in a democratic society.

We must fight principles which we abhor, but must never direct our hatred against persons. To avoid this error we must make ours the conception of the image of God in every human being.

We must never be misled into believing that the end justifies the means, but realise that with evil means the best intentions will come to nothing. By adopting such a rule of life each of us may succeed in making himself an unconquerable fortress.

Before the outbreak of the war I believed that pacifists were bound to struggle for what they considered

For four years Diderich Lund, a member of the Norwegian Section of the War Resisters' International, was active in the resistance movement inside Norway. In 1944 he was advised to escape to Sweden.

He later spent a few weeks in England and then, at the end of the war, returned to Norway to help in reconstruction work in Finnmark, north of Narvik.

Before the war ended, he wrote, and had translated into English, the pamphlet "Resistance in Norway." The article published below is adapted from a paper read at the

first post-war conference of the WRI at Shrewsbury last summer, under the title "Non-violent Resistance under Foreign Military Occupation and the Lessons Learnt therefrom." It will be concluded next week.

right and good, and not content themselves simply with refusing to take part in preparations for war, and in fighting. Under the German occupation we found that most of us might live comparatively comfortably and undisturbed, if we could only force our eyes not to see, and our ears not to hear. But the urge to help when you see someone in distress is very strong, and just as strong will be the demand to fight for the values that make life worth living.

Faced with this demand, most people think only of seizing a gun and meeting violence with violence. But here the pacifist line of action stands out very clearly, as taught by Mahatma Gandhi. "Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, that forgiveness is more manly than punishment."

And for such non-violent resistance conditions in Norway under German



occupation were so ideal that the overwhelming majority of the people took to it almost spontaneously and practiced it with skill and vigour.

One important reservation must be made, however. A great many people took the way of non-violent resistance because they felt it was the only effective way for a small nation to fight against overwhelming force. Our non-violence was not the voluntary relinquishment by a strong nation of the use of violence against a weaker one.

As in most of the occupied countries, a strong resistance movement grew up in Norway. Unlike them, however, was its non-violent nature. It is true that there was also a secret military organisation, the Milorg, partly consisting of soldiers trained in Great Britain during the last years of the war and brought secretly into Norway. But it was the unarmed resistance of the civilians that sustained the nation and kept it united during the occupation.

LEADERSHIP

Like any movement, the non-violent resistance movement calls for adequate leadership, and it was interesting to see how the struggle itself brought leaders forth. The first were those who had, before the war, taken a clear stand for democracy and against Nazism, and who now openly and courageously stood up for their beliefs. Most of these first leaders were silenced, but they had been inspiring examples of the utmost importance to those who stood ready to take their places.

In the economic field our resistance broke down completely, although it soon became clear that every economic activity authorised by the Germans was intended to aid their war effort, even so humble and innocent an activity as growing potatoes. Norwegian men of business, contractors and workmen offered their services to the invaders and continued to do so throughout the war, in spite of strong agitation directed against it by the resistance leaders.

Moreover, where social conditions were bad and feelings of envy or hatred prevailed between different social groups, Nazism made a certain amount of progress. Fortunately there were not many such groups, for in Norway, where the Labour Party had been in power since 1936, we had gone far toward peaceful co-operation between trade unions and employers, between labour and capital.

UNDERGROUND PRESS

After the resistance became organised, an underground Press was established to publish the facts and counteract the bewildering propaganda, and to print for broadcast distribution among the people "paroles" advising them when to obey and when to refuse to obey a German order. The paroles were valuable as well in giving a feeling to the population that in some way justice and order still reigned, and as a rule were obeyed by practically everyone concerned. The Germans could do nothing but accept the situation, and in spite of their strenuous efforts to wipe out the secret presses, and the many thousands of Norwegians who lost their lives or were imprisoned and tortured, nothing could silence the voice of the Press. New helpers were ready at any moment to fill the empty places, and new printing presses were always available.

Perhaps the most dangerous under-

"A great many people took the way of non-violent resistance because they felt it was the only effective way for a small nation to fight against overwhelming force."

The two pictures above, smuggled out of Norway during the war, show a group of leading Norwegian sportsmen, arrested in June, 1941, following the boycott of Quislingist sporting events, in the concentration camp at Falstad and (inset) the rounding up of Oslo University students on Nov. 30, 1943, when lorry-loads of Gestapo troops surrounded the University and arrested 65 professors and 1,500 students. Diderich Lund will deal at some length with resistance by various sections of the Norwegian people in the concluding portion of his article next week.

ground activity was the propaganda among the German troops. Not much of this work was done by the Norwegians, but we saw instances of excellent and daring propaganda by the German soldiers themselves, done at tremendous risk.

Service in and around the concentration camps set up by the Germans opened a new field of activity to daring youth. Contact had to be made between prisoners and the outside world, to tell prisoners which of their comrades, safely out of reach, they could name to the Gestapo if torture became unbearable, or to find out which had been named and were in danger. Now and then a prisoner threatened with torture and death had to be taken out of the prison by some stratagem. The stories of these incidents are full of fantastic and thrilling details of cunning and daring and sacrifice, and they have filled our hearts with joy and pride as the facts became known.

Hiding places were arranged for those hunted by the Gestapo. The homes of elderly ladies were much preferred for this, and many of them sheltered fugitives constantly throughout the war years. But the solidarity was so general and widespread that one had the feeling one might enter any door and ask for protection. It was necessary also to give financial support to those who had lost their income as a result of engaging in resistance work, or those left behind by people who had escaped, or who had been imprisoned or executed; but everyone contributed, and it was never difficult to get the money.

THE PLACE OF SABOTAGE

Although the non-violent resistance movement did not make use of sabotage in its military form, as did the Milorg, sabotage in factories or in administration that impeded German activities was accepted. However, this form of sabotage proved to be much less effective than was generally believed, and it would have been better to have refused entirely to do questionable work. Sabotage is fundamentally a secondary weapon, but if you have not the moral force to carry through open opposition, or if circumstances make it impossible, sabotage can be a last resort.

All of these activities, however, including occasionally the necessary destruction of the Germans' records and documents by fire or explosion, were carried out without violence to the Germans—only Norwegian lives were at stake.

* Readers of Else Zeuthen's articles "Pacifism under Occupation," and "Sabotage and Non-Violence" (PN Jan. 3 and Mar. 14, 1947) will remember that similar conclusions were reached by pacifists in Denmark.—Ed.

PASTORAL

By John
Vincent

AMOS the shepherd spent most of his life on rugged moorlands. He was not a man of the cities. Now and again he did come to the towns to sell his mutton and his wool and it was on one such occasion that he felt the great urge to speak, to denounce, to condemn, in the Lord's name.

He had no professional qualifications for doing so. He said to Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was a herdsman, and a dresser of sycamore trees: and the Lord took me from following the flock, and the Lord said unto me, 'Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.'"

The great prophets of social righteousness speak because a great necessity is laid upon them. It is not a financial necessity. They do not preach to earn their living, although their convictions may cost them their livelihood. It is not a physical necessity. Nobody stands by with a weapon in order to see that they do preach, although rack and faggot may be brought into use to see that they do not. It is not even the fear of hell or the hope of heaven which gives them tongue.

It is a strange burning voice within their hearts which drives them across continents, gives them courage to face inquisitors, makes them ready to forsake hearth and home and all that man holds dear, for the Gospel's sake. Those who have this burning fire within their hearts are free, yet bound by the strongest tie of all, the tie that springs from the inner compulsion within the hearts of men.

The true advocate of God is rarely popular. I wonder whether any one ever thanked Amos, the herdsman of Tekoa, or Elija the Tishbite, or John the Baptist, with the words, "That

was a very nice address. I quite enjoyed it." Yet in these days we almost seem to judge the prophet of God by our enjoyment of his message!

Necessity and compulsion are words we do not like. Yet there is a compulsion, the compulsion of God working within the hearts of His servants, which gives their message the note of authenticity.

This note rings through the words of the true saints of God in all ages. Bunyan was kept in Bedford Jail, not by stone walls and iron bars, but by the compulsion within his heart, which would not let him take a different way. Luther stood before his questioners with the words, "Here stand I. God help me, I can do no other." Livingstone, once the occupant of the study where I sit to write these words, left for darkest Africa because of this same compulsion. Yet God's compulsion is not that of the bleak North wind, but that of the gentle sunshine of spring.

We can tell the strength of a man's convictions by the things which he does spontaneously. So often we have heard the grudging, doubtful note. "I suppose I shall have to give something."

I can picture a great and kindly Roman soldier trudging along a hot Eastern road, with a little Jew carrying his bag. They chat away, and the soldier shyly fetches from his pocket a picture of his mother and sisters. They become engrossed in their talk. They discover to their amusement that they have exceeded the distance for which the soldier was able to conscript the little Jew. The law says "a mile." They have travelled twain, because they were talking and did not notice the heat of the day nor the hardness of the road. The willing compulsion of God's true servants is just like that.

Export Drives — Purdah — ARP

BACKWARD AND FORWARD IN PAKISTAN

From a Special Correspondent

Delhi, 1949.

TWO weeks ago I crossed a frontier which just over a year ago was not in existence—that of India and Pakistan.

I flew, because direct rail travel between Delhi and Lahore is still impossible. It was interesting to discover that because I carry a British passport I need no permit to cross from one country to the other. The nationals of these two countries, however, have to get permits to go from India to Pakistan or vice versa, and a separate permit for their return. Until recently, when a new agreement was reached between India and Pakistan a permit was necessary for personal luggage and the necessary bedding roll. These permits take weeks, often months to obtain.

A sister ill in Multan asks for her sister teaching in Agra, but there seems to be absolutely no machinery to expedite permits for such visits and so the sisters never meet. Just another individual tragedy, natural in international affairs! But this frontier is indeed man-made. The Punjab was split into two parts and families found themselves divided. Sometimes for business or personal reasons one brother or sister decided to stay in India while another went to Pakistan, and now between them stretches a frontier.

I can only visualise this frontier as a fence made of rules, regulations and permits, with officials as supporting posts. On both sides of this fence one finds that the language, customs and dress are the same. Only the religious bias today is different.

RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS

This religious problem is one of the live political issues in Pakistan. Shall this new country be a secular State (Turkey is quoted as a pattern) or shall it be a traditional Islamic State governed by the teachings of the Islamic religion? A great deal depends on the solution of this problem, not least the position of women and plans for education.

I talked with several prominent political leaders and discovered how keen was the desire to make Pakistan a great modern State. They felt that only in a secular State, giving freedom to its religious minorities and giving women complete equality in work and education, could an international outlook be created.

Though these modern opinions are prevalent among many educated people, however, there is an equally strong body of opinion which maintains that only by returning to the traditional Mohammedan code can a strong and vital country be built up. They point, with some justification to other countries of the world where religious influence has been allowed to lapse.

The influence of the Maulvis, the religious teachers, is very great and the return to religious tradition would mean the compulsory teaching of the Islamic religion in all schools and colleges, and the return to at least partial purdah for women.

WEARING THE BURQA

In Pakistan an unveiled woman walking in the streets of a town even today runs the risk of being forcibly made to cover her head. Girl students in mixed colleges listen to their lectures from behind cane curtains. Many women protestingly wear the ugly and confining Burqa in the streets as a protection from insult. But progressive women urge that a woman should be given a place in the Government and say, rightly, that in this respect Pakistan is far behind India.

The second most discussed problem is, of course, the possession of Kashmir. India wants it and so does Pakistan, but it is difficult to get either side to give one really valid reason for this desire.

It is true that in Kashmir rise the rivers which are the life-blood of West Pakistan's flourishing agriculture. It is true that Kashmir has a Moslem majority, but it is also true that this majority appears to be divided in its allegiance. Neither government has admitted it, but I

NEW Year's Day brought the good news that India and Pakistan had agreed to an armistice in Kashmir. As the 16-month old war ended, *The Daily Express* (Jan. 3) reported, "troops on both sides scrambled from dug-outs to greet each other." Before long a plebiscite is to be held.

The Governor General of India, Sri Rajagopalachari, sent the following New Year message to the Governor-General of Pakistan: "My own and India's sincere good wishes to you and your people. May the New Year bring joy to both our peoples and knit us in close co-operation for the honour and prosperity of both our countries. May all bad memories be dispelled and these greetings find rich meaning and fulfilment."

have heard in quiet conversation of minerals in Kashmir, minerals which are war essentials.

The situation has been further complicated in Kashmir by the tribesmen's majority, but it is also true that this majority appears to be divided in its allegiance. Neither government has admitted it, but I have heard in

from the frontier who, no longer controlled by British money or British arms, have created a problem for Pakistan, and it is only too easy to encourage them to descend into Kashmir.

There are far too few men of goodwill on either side of the border to be able to get an easy answer to the question of dividing Kashmir, though ordinary men and women might well welcome this as a solution.

WAR TALK

Meanwhile inside Pakistan, war talk is only too prevalent. ARP, Cadet Corps and even a Women's National Guard, armed and trained to shoot, figure largely in the news.

It is a mistake to think that Pakistan is not a real country. National pride is almost frightening in its intensity. Great strides have been made in the creation of a solid pattern of government.

As in India, the refugee problem still makes many difficulties. The Hindu population left Pakistan when the division was followed by the ghastly communal riots: and in Lahore, for instance, the shopkeepers, the bank clerks and those who ran the money market and the business

world in general, were largely Hindus. The degree of education was much higher amongst them than amongst the Moslems. The towns are only just beginning to recover from this exodus. It was curious to find in some places colleges only half-full, though this will soon change: Moslems having come over the border to join the new State and there being a real enthusiasm for education.

In spite of all their difficulties, however, Pakistanis, and especially the young, are eager for contacts with other countries. Industries are being built up and traditional arts and crafts stimulated. Lovely materials and beautiful iridescent glass are being manufactured. The beaten copper work of Peshawar is famous. Agriculture, if fully developed, could increase the export trade. The education plans seem sound and everyone is eager to hear of educational experiments. In this and in the social service field there is endless scope for work and improvement.



WITH EUROPE'S DISPLACED CHILDREN

Flotsam on a sea of cruelty and war

By N. Hélène Jeanty
MUNICH.

PRIEN, charmingly located on Bavaria's Chiemsee, is a centre for displaced children. Most of them have no families; though sometimes parents are discovered in Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia or elsewhere, and then they are repatriated. Some have been taken care of by German families, and when separation comes, there is tragedy.

Nearby is a simple German family who, though they had three children of their own, five years ago took in a little French boy. Last winter, when he had typhus, his German foster-mother stayed by his bedside 40 nights. The boy is now eight, and a French grandmère has claimed him. My friend, the social worker, has to go to the German home and take him away; she comes out shaken. The despair of the German family was horrible to see, and Miss M. says: "The real mother is the German one—if she did not give life to the child, she has given it back." But on the whole it is best to repatriate the youngsters, for later, when they have become men, they might turn into rebels.

HEARTBREAK FOR MISS S.

At Prien there are four hotels and three houses requisitioned to harbour these children. At the hotel housing the offices you find Miss S., an American woman who could have stayed at home and remained comfortable. Here she does a marvellous job. But it is emotionally hard. Many of the boys and girls have been abandoned by their mothers, some of whom have gone off with an occupation soldier. When they are taken away from Miss S. they cry bitterly, for they have

then lost the one mother they have known.

At the Kampenwand Hotel are children under 10. They don't understand much about their situation, throwing themselves into our arms in a spontaneous need for affection. There is an exhibit of the children's work—drawings, embroidery, etc.—the same as among all the children of the world, with bright flowers, the sun, the mountains, but chiefly the animals. I warmly congratulate little Marco, the Russian with a dreamy face; he is all pink with emotion.

THOSE WHO UNDERSTAND

At the Strand Hotel there are Jewish children, many of them over 18. One could wish they, too, did not understand what they are up against, but they do. Their questions, their imploring eyes! "What about me?" And then, when their companions leave, "It's all so hard!" One young girl spent five years in a concentration camp; her family are all dead; ever since the war she has been waiting to emigrate. While she sobs her heart out, Miss M. can only stroke her hair.

Another girl of 17 years asks nothing, but begs with her eyes. Everything was arranged; she was going to Canada. But at the last moment her father was found. He has married again and doesn't want her; but because she is not now classed as an orphan, she cannot leave. It means months longer, to start new proceedings and put them through.

And here are some favoured ones. A lovely boy, nine, and his sister, well bred and refined, await shipment to a rich aunt in America. But in the corridor we come across an adorable young girl wearing a long nightdress, and with angel's hair, who smiles at us sweetly. Then Miss M. sighs:



(Photo: Sheppard Press.)
HELENE JEANTY, a Belgian, is working with the Church World Service in Germany among displaced persons. During the war she was arrested, with her husband, by the Gestapo for hiding a British airman. She feigned lunacy in order to save her husband from execution and was taken to a German asylum for several months. Her husband was shot by the Germans, along with all the members of the forced labour brigade in which he was working, near the end of the war. Hélène Jeanty's story of this period of her life has been published in book form in England by the Sheppard Press and also dramatised and broadcast by the BBC.

"She is deaf and dumb, and no one will want her."

Here are letters from a 16-year-old boy who went to Canada all by himself, and with the help he found along the way made a place for himself. If all could be as fortunate! Off at a distance, these remaining children may be thought of as "cases." Here they are warm and infinitely varied human beings, flotsam on a sea of cruelty and war. At the end of the day, we are strangely worn.

We sit around the lounge of the magnificent old house where five of the social workers are billeted. It is so spacious that at first one hardly sees the grand Bechstein in a corner. I start a Chopin prelude, then a Bach invention, and soon one lives for the moment. The children will be there tomorrow... and tomorrow.

—WP.

Garry Davis Wants World Citizen Roll

NEW Year's Day brought the news that Garry Davis, in Paris, had invited "all who resist war and prefer normal life and prosperity in a world republic to hunger and death in so-called sovereign states" to write to him at Hotel des Etats-Unis, Montparnasse, Paris 6, asking for registration as world citizens.

In the health resort of Bad Nauheim, German followers of Garry Davis, scientists, writers, artists and public men, appealed for the organisation of the first congress of world citizens in Germany. Hamburg Senate favours the settlement of Garry Davis in Hamburg, but that depends on the granting of an entry permit by the British Military Government.

About a thousand people demonstrated in the Kurfurstendamm, Berlin, when the well-known actor, Viktor de Kova, said that he knew no distinction between East and West, Right and Left, but only between good and bad. Coloured posters were carried round calling for world peace. R.H.

GREETINGS FROM STUTTGART FOR GAOLED COs

MEMBERS of the Stuttgart (Germany) Section of the War Resisters' International wrote jointly to all the CO's listed in Peace News as detained in prison over Christmas. The Secretary of the Section says:

"And glad I am to tell you that ever since we get numerous letters and cards from abroad. We feel that to have so many names on one message, persuades our friends more than anything else, that in Germany are people working and hoping for a peaceful understanding. We believe it our duty to make well understood that we want to live and work with every single person either in western or eastern countries. There are behind every system human beings worthy to be helped. It must be our task to discover even the tiny little good in linking it up with his neighbours good wishes and to construct such a road to walk on. One of our well-known politicians, when I asked him for help in publishing some of the most sincere messages received from CO's, said: 'It's no use to build bridges where there is morass.' I told him: 'O yes, I would continue.'"

Negroes look to India

BAYARD RUSTIN, the pacifist American Negro leader who is in India to study Gandhian principles, addressed the Council of World Affairs in New Delhi on Dec. 27.

He declared that Negroes looked up to India because they wished to attain freedom through non-violent means. "We have been greatly inspired by the example of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru," he said.

For those struggling for freedom, he added, New Delhi was today what Paris was for Europe during and after the days of the French Revolution. That was why Indonesia and other countries were looking to India's capital.

CHRISTMAS "WITH OUR BOYS IN GERMANY"

A correspondent has sent to us an extract from a letter received after Christmas from his son, a man of twenty-three, serving in the ranks in Germany. He is stationed at the headquarters of BAOR, and not in a spot remote from organisation. He writes: "Christmas here is most unpleasant, I fear! Rather like a pagan Bacchanalia. Most of the personnel in barracks have been continuously drunk since last night, from officers downwards. Then they come crawling into the barracks-rooms and sick it all up in the rooms, corridors, lavatories, etc. Add to which a more liberal sprinkling of contraceptives than usual (and there usually are a good many strewn about), and you have the complete picture. My barrack block literally stinks. I had to go to the Catholic church for Christmas duties. Nothing on Orders or on the CE church or in YMCA about times of Christmas services." After Dr. Fisher's assurances that "our young soldiers in Germany are being well looked after," this makes depressing reading. —Church Times, Jan. 7, 1949.

War Office efforts to counter the exposure of army life contained in the Federal Free Church Council's Report, "With our Boys in Germany," (PN, Oct. 8), included a tour of inspection for Free Church leaders, apparently in the very district from which this letter was sent.

Rev. Maurice Watts, one of those invited to Germany by the War Office, was quoted in PN (Dec. 3): "We have no fear at all of the moral risks (of sending 18-year-olds to Germany) so long as the Army is guided by men of the quality of its present leaders . . . BAOR is really one big school."

GANDHI MURDER TRIAL ENDS

THE hearing of the Gandhi murder case, which began in June last, concluded in the Red Fort, New Delhi, on Dec. 31, after a period of about seven months. Mr. Atma Charan, Special Judge conducting the trial, announced that he would pronounce judgement in a month's time.

Mr. C. C. Daphtary, Chief Prosecuting Counsel, opened the prosecution's case, on June 22, 1948, with an address detailing the part alleged to have been played by each of the accused in the conspiracy to murder Mahatma Gandhi.

Recording of evidence began on June 24, and took 84 days to complete. One hundred and forty-three prosecution witnesses were examined, their evidence running into 696 foolscap typed sheets.

Every question and answer had to be interpreted in Hindustani, Marathi and Telugu. Some witnesses also gave evidence in Gujarati and Punjabi. —India News.

"I fear Japan. We may have only twenty-five years to prepare before she again disturbs the Pacific. That is why the immigration scheme must succeed." —Arthur Calwell, Australian Immigration Minister at Melbourne, Nov. 30, 1948.

Pacifist Profiles

XXIII

THE Rev. A. J. Muste, Executive Secretary of the U.S. Fellowship of Reconciliation, and one of the most dynamic leaders of present-day pacifism, has been prominent for many years in American Church and Labour movements.

"A. J." is of Dutch extraction, his parents having emigrated to the States in 1891, when he was six years old. He himself graduated at Hope College, Holland, Michigan, and was ordained by the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1909.

For four years, during which he gained a BD at Union Theological Seminary and was a graduate student of Philosophy at Columbia University, he acted as Minister of Fort Washington Collegiate Church in New York. Later he moved to the Central Congregational Church at Newtonville, Mass; but soon after America's entry into the first World War, was forced to resign on account of his outspoken pacifist views. He joined the FoR and the Society of Friends.

During the post-war years, he became well-known to the American workers—and their employers—as one of the leaders in several big strikes, and General Secretary of the Amalgamated Textile Workers; as Director of Brookwood Labour College, the foremost workers' educational institution in the States, and Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labour Action, an organisation formed to stimulate unionism in the basic industries and to combat autocracy and corruption within the Labour movement.

For a short time, he was a dominant figure in the Trotskyist Party. While on a visit to Europe in the summer of 1936, however, he became once more convinced of the self-defeating character of the resort to violence, whether in the class struggle or in international relations. Only a religious inspiration, he now believes, will suffice to abolish war and build a better social order.

This second conversion drew him nearer the Churches again. In 1937,



A. J. MUSTE

he became Field and Industrial Secretary of the FoR, and later in the year, Director of the Presbyterian Labour Temple, New York City. Today he is Lecturer on Social Religion in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, New Brunswick; and a member of the influential Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches.

A. J. Muste's writings include contributions to the Presbyterian Tribune (of which he is an associate editor) and other periodicals; pamphlets; and chapters on religion and labour in various symposia: but, regrettably enough, only two books—"Non-Violence in an Aggressive World" (1940) and "Not by Might" (1947).

His long and varied experience, however; his ability to marshal and interpret facts; above all, that self-annihilating concern for the truth which makes him continually ready to reorientate his course in the light of fresh knowledge or insight, give these a unique place in the literature of contemporary pacifism. The American FoR, with its heavy responsibility, is lucky to have a leader who combines such qualities with practical initiative and a personality commanding both affection and respect.

THE PPU JOURNAL

PEACE Pledge Union activities, past, present and future, are fully reported in the January issue of the PPU Journal, now on sale, 5d. post free from PN office.

Swami Avyaktananda contributes an article on "Dynamic Pacifism" and Dr. Jameson a report on the British Centre for Colonial Freedom. For pacifists engaged in the PPU campaign for new signatories to the pledge there are Sybil Morrison's "Campaign Notes" and many useful suggestions for activities in "News from the Groups, Regions and Areas."

WESTERN EUROPEAN SECURITY LEAGUE

An open conference will be held in the

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The Duke of Bedford

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Chair: Stuart Morris

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GIFT PARCELS containing coffee, tea food and clothing can be sent to Germany, Austria, etc. Particulars from Fregata Ltd., 11, Greek Street, London, W.1.

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PACIFIST JOURNALIST going to the United States to establish an office wants help up to five hundred pounds from twenty pacifist friends. If willing to assist please write for particulars to Box 3.

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EXPERT DUPLICATING Service. Enquiries invited. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, London, N.5. Tel. CANonbury 8862.

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We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements. Owing to the increasing pressure on our advertising space we must insist that all copy for displayed insertion should reach us not later than the Thursday morning eight days prior to publication.

MEETINGS

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. tube). Sunday Evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

WHICH WAY to Peace and Security? Discussion course in fundamental economics and social problems at Henry George School of Social Science (non-Political), Goldsmiths Hall, Deansgate, Manchester. Thursdays 7 p.m. Opening Jan. 20. Parties from Secretariat, 13 Orthes Grove, Heaton Chapel, Stockport. HEATon Moor 776.

Stalin's Grand Strategy

swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our life in order to strengthen and expand the union of toilers of the whole world—the Communist International.”

Mr. Morgan pays well deserved attention to the high degree of flexibility in Communist strategy and tactics as enunciated by Stalin. In a work written in 1921, but only published in 1947, occurs this remarkable and revealing passage:

“TACTICS, guiding itself by the directives of strategy and by experience of the revolutionary movement . . . calculating at every given moment the state of forces inside the proletariat and its allies, as well as in the camp of the adversary, profiting by discord and every kind of confusion in the camp of the adversary—marks out those CONCRETE COURSES for winning the wide masses to the proletarian side and leading them to battle stations on the social front . . . which most surely pave the way for strategic successes.”

Base for world front

FOR the period of world revolution, Stalin's grand strategy is to use the Soviet Union as a base linking the proletariat of the west with the movements for national liberation from imperialism in the east into “a single world front against the world front of imperialism.” In this way he harnesses two of the major contradictions of capitalism to his chariot—contradictions between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and contradictions between capitalist and colonial countries. The front thus formed is to be used to exploit the third contradiction of capitalism—that between capitalist countries whose rivalry for spheres of influence must lead periodically to war, the event most propitious for revolution.

But flexibility of tactics enters into this grand strategy, and Mr. Morgan utters a warning against mistaking a change in tactics for a change in fundamental doctrine. This is exemplified in Stalin's remarks about the peaceful co-existence of and co-operation between the Socialist and capitalist systems. The whole body of propositions in Stalin's philosophy adds up to a veritable religion of con-

flict and contradiction which Stalin has put forward as being not only inevitable, but desirable.

His conception of America, as revealed in all his interviews and writings, is as the “stronghold of capitalism” which, says Mr. Morgan, dovetails with his picture of the future course of world revolution. The United States is expected to be the centre of the rival world system which finally must clash with the Soviet system until capitalism goes down and Socialism conquers the world. This means that Stalin expects revolution in America only near the end of the “epoch of world revolution.”

Ebb and flow

STALIN hardly expected revolution to occur in the United States during the late war or its aftermath. But it is likely that his perspective on this period is as follows:

1. The time for the next harvest of revolution is at hand. The upheaval created by the late war will bring to a climax the contradictions of capitalism in a way that will make revolution possible in “a number of countries in Europe and Asia.” Such a revolution is required to guarantee once and for all that the forces of capitalism will not obliterate Socialism and compel the whole process to begin all over again. Therefore, the minimum revolutionary objective for World War II and its aftermath is to bring enough countries into the Soviet camp to effect such a guarantee.
2. The “law of ebb and flow” implies that unless the whole of capitalism collapses under the present revolutionary wave, the surviving remnant will temporarily stabilise itself a few years after the end of the war and in ebb in the tide of revolution will set in: the revolutionary objective for World War II must therefore be consolidated before the ebb tide.
3. Though the Soviet Union has not yet equalled America in industrial production, with the defeat of Germany and Japan, its relative strength among the powers of Europe will be enormous. Therefore, the Soviet Union will be in a position to serve as a base for much more active fostering of revolutionary movements in other countries, though not ready to establish Communism throughout the world. This indicates a much more aggressive tactic towards other countries, but not so aggressive as deliberately to bring on war for world hegemony in the immediate future.

The success of this tactic would depend in part, according to Stalin's theory of revolution, on the extent to which the critical areas were isolated from foreign influences hostile to revolution. When Stalin looks to the more distant future, says Mr. Morgan, America probably continues to figure in his thinking as the centre around which capitalism will form for the final war to the death between the two systems. Meanwhile, he projects further expansion for industry in the Soviet Union on a scale which suggests that the climactic struggle will not be risked before 15 to 20 years have elapsed. Stalin's theory of “ebb and flow” would lead him to expect a new stabilisation of capitalism within a few years, followed by another wave of crisis and revolution generated by capitalist contradictions. He is apparently timing completion of the Soviet base of operations for the crest of this next wave. Tactics of the moment may swing this way or that, but the Marxist doctrine to which he is committed is uncompromisingly revolutionary. In that doctrine, world Communism is the supreme aim, Soviet power the major instrument by which it will be achieved, Mr. Morgan concludes.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Jan. 13, 1939.

The national Press was coy about Sir John Anderson's grim admission of the helplessness of civilians in time of war.

He said at the Press conference on Monday:

“A lot of people write as though we should make war safe for the civilian. My opinion is that you cannot make war safe for civilians. There would in any future war be inevitable casualties among civilians.”

“There is only one way of making the civilian safe, and that is the avoidance of war.”

“What we must aim at doing is to emerge from such a war with as little hurt as possible—but victorious. And if our civilians are to be in the fighting line they will have to suffer casualties.”

The Daily Herald alone gave prominence to this frank confession of the futility of ARP. . . . The News Chronicle and the Times quoted part of the statement. The Daily Express (“And the truth shall make you free”) and the Daily Telegraph apparently did not regard this as being palatable breakfast reading.

The War Resisters' International

THE WAR RESISTER

Autumn issue (No. 54)

contains a report of the August, 1948, International Conference at Shrewsbury with photograph.

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BRASS-HAT BARITONES SUPERSEDE SOAP OPERAS

THE military branches of the U.S. Government now have five major network programmes, plus two National Guard programmes. As a result the military is now “Radio's No. 1 music sponsor,” with programmes estimated at a total cost of \$6,000,000 a year.

In 1947-48, the U.S. Army was the third largest magazine advertiser in the nation.

The U.S. Air Force spends more money on research in the single field of guided missiles than the Agriculture Department spends in all of its research. The Agriculture Department is the largest non-military research agency in the Government.

REFRESHER COURSES FOR CO ADVISORS

FOLLOWING the quarterly meeting of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors on January 8, a Refresher Course for Local Advisers and others was held at Friends House, London. Advisers were present from as far afield as Birmingham, Cambridge, Hitchin, Letchworth, Lowestoft and Southend-on-Sea to hear talks by A. Joe Brayshaw, the Board's Public Relations Officer, on “The Organisation of the CO Movement” and Denis Hayes, the Board's former Publications Editor, on “The Law and Practice Concerning COs.” Albert E. Tomlinson, Secretary of the Board, was in the Chair, and at the conclusion of the talks many difficult questions were put to the expert panel, the majority of which they were able to answer satisfactorily. It is hoped to repeat this experiment in the near future at several provincial centres.

PERIOD OF SERVICE FOR COs

THE Ministry of Labour has stated that from January, 1949, release group numbers are to be calculated from 101 onwards, based solely on the date of conditional registration.

There are now two group numbers for each calendar month, one for men conditionally registered between the 1st day and the 14th day inclusive, and the next for those conditionally registered between the 15th day and the end of the month. A man first conditionally registered between Jan. 1 and 14 1947, is placed in group 101, a man conditionally registered between Jan. 15 and 31, 1947, is placed in group 102 and so on.

The period of service for 1947 and 1948 will probably range from 2 years and 3 months to 1 year and 6 months, but it is not possible to give dates far ahead. What can be stated is that the following groups will be released early in 1949:—

Group 101 on Feb. 18; 102 on Feb. 28; 103 on Mar. 7; 104 on Mar. 19.

WINDFALL FOR PPU CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

The Campaign has received an unexpected and a very welcome donation of £12 7s. 6d. from Patrick Figgis's election fund. Many readers will remember that he contested a bye-election in Poplar during the war and though he did not get in, a great deal of wonderful propaganda work was done during the fight. His agent writes to me that it is felt that the account should now be closed and that as Patrick Figgis believes the work of the PPU campaign would be very close to the wishes of those who supported him in South Poplar he has sent the balance to the Campaign Committee.

SYBIL MORRISON

FSU's CHINA FILM STRIP

Readers interested in the article by Spencer Cox which appeared in last week's PN, “The CO's of Chungmou” may be glad to know that the Friends' Service Council has a number of speakers who are available to address meetings on the work of the Unit in China. They also have a film strip with script which they would be very pleased to loan out to meetings. Enquiries to: FSU (China) Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

Words of Peace - No 256

We are all members each of the other, and still more are we members of those who went before us. The generations preceeding us have not died to themselves but live in us, and we whom they produced, live in each other and in those who will come after us!

—Havelock Ellis, “Essays of Love and Virtue.”

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

TWELFTH Night! The last night that Londoners could see the lighted Christmas Tree in Trafalgar Square. The fountains were throwing their columns of flood-lit water towards the sky, the coloured lights were glittering on the huge tree, and thousands filled the Square enjoying the sight.

Thousands more, at 6 o'clock that evening were hurrying to catch their evening train home; they were not taking much notice of the illuminations. But there was something else on the steps of St. Martins that the thousands passing that way were obliged to notice. A woman stood there with a red and black poster which said “Peace Demonstration” and “War—We Say No.” It was a poster advertising the Central Hall meeting, and the steps of Dick Sheppard's church seemed a very suitable place for that living advertisement.

Another woman went among the crowds around the fountains and over 700 leaflets were distributed. Both these distributors heard a number of comments—here are some of them:—

“Michael Tippet—I'd like to hear him.”

“Why don't you do this in Moscow?” (The obvious answer, that it is rather a long way from Moscow to the Central Hall, was supplied by Stuart Morris when he heard of the comment the next day!)

“I always like to hear Vera Brittain.”

“The housewives in the East End would be frightened out of their lives if they saw that poster.” The bearer of the poster was surprised to hear that East-End housewives were all half-wits and said so.

Another comment was: “Sybil Thorndike, but she's in a play.” The answer is she is coming on directly after the curtain falls to make the last speech of the evening.

Giving out leaflets at busy corners means cold hands and tired feet but it is a very worth while piece of work. Only a very few leaflets were thrown away, most of them were examined with interest and quite a few were asked for.

The London Area is rallying with great energy and spirit to gather the crowds for the Central Hall on Friday, Jan. 21. West and East Ham Group have taken 2,000 handbills and 2,000 of the new leaflets and are going to distribute them together.

Stoke Newington and Islington Groups have provided the backbone for a series of poster parades advertising the meeting. The last one takes place tomorrow as announced below. Last Saturday eight paraders publicised the meeting in Wood Green's busy shopping centre and despite the bitter wind held an open-air meeting at the end of the parade—at which more leaflets were given away and copies of Peace News sold. All groups and contacts in the North and East London Region were asked to subscribe to a “Central Hall Bill Posting Fund” and as a result of the generous response—Edmonton Group alone provided 25s.—200 posters are now on the hoardings in that part of London.

The recently formed Islington Group is to have a visit from Patrick Figgis at its next meeting on Jan. 27. Group plans for 1949 include Public meetings, open-air meetings at Highbury Corner in the Spring and Summer and the setting up of an executive committee, responsible for Press publicity and securing new members.

Good news comes from the country too. Gloucester alternate a discussion meeting of their Group with a house to house distribution of leaflets about 20 attend each week. They have also carried on an energetic correspondence in their local newspaper putting forward the pacifist answer to a correspondent who was calling for a policy of re-armament for defence. This airing of our views in the Press is of the utmost importance.

Plymouth Group write to say that they went through a very bad time, as so many members moved from the district, but they believe they have “turned the corner.”

TO-MORROW'S POSTER PARADE. Volunteers are asked to meet at the Baker's Arms at 3 p.m. The parade will terminate in an open-air meeting in Walthamstow High Street, to be addressed by Sybil Morrison. **DAILY POSTER PARADES** will leave Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1., at 1 p.m. all next week except Saturday. Volunteers who can spare part of their lunch-time for leaflet distribution are invited to join the paraders. A few more volunteers are wanted as Stewards for the Central Hall.

SYBIL MORRISON

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